

---

Moral and Spiritual Elements in the Chinese Revolution and in the Present Outlook

Author(s): Charles L. Storrs

Source: *The Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jul., 1913), pp. 110-128

Published by:

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29737983>

Accessed: 27-07-2014 21:58 UTC

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at

<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



<http://www.jstor.org>

## MORAL AND SPIRITUAL ELEMENTS IN THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND IN THE PRESENT OUTLOOK

*By Rev. Charles L. Storrs, Shaowu, China, Foochow Mission*

Two or three years before the outbreak of the Revolution, a non-Christian editor in one of his leaders on "China's Needs" in the *Chung Wai Jih Pao* wrote: "Many are talking of revolution . . . . Has it been considered that we in China have had far more revolutions than they in Europe? Europe has always gained by its revolutions, but we have gained no national uplift from ours. Why? Because of the absence of what has characterized European revolutions—moral and spiritual forces." It is the object of this address to show that such elements have not been absent from the overturning of the past twelvemonth among that remarkable people. If what this Chinese editor says is true, then the events of 1911 and 1912 stand out unique not only among the fifty-three attempts which since the first in 1646 engineered by the "Heaven and Earth Society" have aimed to depose the now abdicated Ta Ching dynasty, but unique in the long history of 4906 years—the date under which the republicans in their enthusiasms issued their first proclamations.

There will be no attempt to separate moral from spiritual forces. Indeed spiritual or religious elements as such do not seem to have entered into the stream of events. Neither is it thought to show how the whole movement has been undergirt with certain great moral laws and that the outcome has been a logical consequence of them. Sufficient for our purpose if from the kaleidoscopic rush of events, we can seize hold here and there of a few of those golden strands of human activity that give life its true significance, untwist some of the more important ones to reveal more clearly their component ethical threads, and so come to realize that it

is these that have held the whole together. In this way the conviction will come to us that the significance of the Revolution in China lies not in the immense number of people involved, not in the magnitude nor richness of the territory, not in the uniqueness nor swiftness of its outward accomplishment, but in the coming into this great complex world of men and things in which we live of a new factor, the greatest, the most bewildering of any that have yet entered in. That factor is the Chinese people setting their feet in the paths that the eternal laws of moral development have laid down for human destiny.

1. First then among the more apparent moral and spiritual elements of the Chinese Revolution must be mentioned enlightenment, coming primarily through western education. Diplomacy and trade would claim but a small share in this contribution. The part that western education has played fostered first and foremost by Christian missions, and since 1905 an objective to which both government and people have given themselves unstintedly, will be adequately treated in other addresses of this conference. It needs to be given a logical and strong emphasis here because, just as the conscience and personality of an individual can receive no large or true development aside from increasing intelligence, no more the ethical and national ideals of a people. Yet fascinating as is the theme, I yield it the more readily remembering that enlightenment as the equipment of the young Turk party seems not to have fulfilled the promise of their brilliant constitutional movement, and Japan, with an average of school attendance that outdoes some states of our own loved America, felt constrained by the ethical wabbliness of its modern society last February to call a meeting of the leaders of its three great religions to see if the moral foundations might not be made more secure. Still it is not without significance that the overturning in China is often spoken of as a students' revolution.

Aside from the part that modern education has played in thus enlightening the Chinese people there ought to be mentioned right here the tremendous influence of the periodicals and books of the Christian Literature Society and in a lesser

measure the various tract societies. Put with these the hundreds of Chinese newspapers, good and bad, and it becomes less difficult to understand how new ideas permeated the whole country. Kang Yy Wei, who after the imprisonment of his master, the former emperor, Kuang Hsu, from Japan directed the fortunes of the so-called "Reform" party, had newspapers in nearly every treaty port and although harried by the officials, found haven in the foreign concessions or in Hongkong and continued his propaganda, almost as revolutionary as that of the republicans themselves, up to the commencement of the struggle.

The revolutionaries had the keenest appreciation of the moral value of publicity. From the first they took not only the people but foreign powers into their confidence. A first move of their provisional government was to appoint one of their cleverest, best informed men, Wu Ting Fang, former minister at Washington, as their minister of foreign affairs. To him and another of their best leaders, Wen Tsung Iao, they gave the task of keeping the outside world informed as to the inwardness from the revolutionary view point of each event or complication. In the most critical hour of the struggle when, with the utmost good will for Yuan Shi Kai and his cause, the powers hesitated to let him receive any financial backing, these men checkmated every move that Peking made by the sympathy for their cause in the world at large, and by showing the courts and cabinets abroad just what grip they had on the south and the Yantse valley with all the commercial interest of foreigners involved. A little of it may have been what Americans call "bluff," but the game was not played in the dark, so far as they were concerned, and the forces of light with their concomitants of sympathy and trust seemed predestined to win.

2. After enlightenment as a moral element in the Chinese Revolution must be mentioned a new stirring and vigor of moral conscience.

It is rather startling to find that of the ten shortcomings for which Dr. Sun Yat Sen specifically arraigned the Ta Ching dynasty eight are distinct charges of moral failure. Even the other two the second,—“they have opposed our

intellectual and material progress;"—and the sixth,—“they suppress liberty of speech”—are at no great remove from the moral realm. The avariciousness of the imperial clan was so great that even in their hour of supreme distress when Yuan Shi Kai had exhausted every resource to obtain money absolutely necessary to prevent the government from falling into anarchy with an unpaid soldiery, it did not occur to any of them to offer help from their immense accumulation of treasure. Yuan had to go personally and beg a paltry 6,000,000 taels, enough at best to tide things over less than a month. Yet when the comptroller of the household made his report after the death of Tze Hsi, the old dowager empress, the privy treasure was 12,000,000 taels gold, and 990,000,000 taels silver. It is said also that the princes had deposits in foreign banks amounting to \$65,000,000. However that may be, it is certain that Duke Tasi Tao, brother of the regent, whom he had placed over the war office, grew fabulously rich through his sales of commissions in less than three years. So extreme did the evil become that the revolutionaries were able before the struggle to put their generals in command of the most important divisions and brigades of the army. The fact that, when the crisis came and some of the princes were still for fighting it out, forty-six generals of the northern army sent a telegram demanding the abdication of the throne and the setting up of a republican form of government, shows that many of those generals still held their commissions, as well as suggests a suspicion that Yuan had come to the place where he could play on the winning side.

From top to bottom official life in China was unthinkable corrupt. Sir Robert Hart, than whom no westerner better knew the inside of officialdom, said that if the revenues of China were honestly collected and honestly administered they would go six times as far as they did.

Personally I feel very certain that the splendid sweep of the anti-opium movement through the length and breadth of the land had very much to do with this quickening of the moral conscience against the 267 years of misrule which the Manchus had given China. That great reform, already

four-fifths made good, and accomplishing more in its five years of agitation than we in America have with a hundred years of our toying with the liquor evil, surprised not only the western world; it surprised the Chinese people themselves. It revealed reserves of moral power of which they had not been conscious.

It was hardly a fair indictment of the Manchus made by Ma Soo, secretary to Dr. Sun when president of the provisional government, to say at a great republican rally regarding the new compact with Great Britain, signed May 8, 1911, "The opportunity (to free China) came, but they (the Manchus) would not take it. They sold their people for an increased revenue of 350 taels per chest of opium;" for from the beginning the throne had shown earnestness and sincerity in this great reform. It was rather the scorn and unfaith of Great Britain that the revolutionaries should have pointed to.

"Heaven hears through the ears of the people" was a quotation from their most ancient philosopher, Shun, that the Chinese often had thrust at them during those months and years of waking moral consciousness. They were but living up to their highest and noblest traditions when, with the plain evidences of hopeless misrule on everyhand and blind and stubborn opposition to all sound progress clearly manifest, they came to realize that "heaven had withdrawn its favor" from their rulers, and accordingly prepared their vials of wrath.

Mr. Yung Wing, so intimately connected with Chinese student life in America since its inception in 1872, in a letter to a friend shortly before his death in Hartford, Connecticut, April 12, 1912, wrote,—“The late political revolution in its sweep over eighteen provinces has accomplished two wonderful historical facts of the century, one the downfall of the Manchu dynasty, the other the rising up of the Chung Hua Republic; neither of which can be possible without our full recognition of God in human history. The laws which govern the rise and fall of principalities and empires have been foreordained by the Deity himself; and when a dynasty like the Manchu was swept away like chaff

before the whirlwind, we may be sure that the dynasty has violated some of the fundamental principles of the moral universe. Upon investigation we will find that the Manchu Dynasty since its supremacy over the Chinese Empire for nearly three centuries have not observed *justice* to the people, *nor righteousness, nor equality, nor truth*. If the Manchus had been scrupulous in maintaining the cardinal virtues in their administrative system as taught by Confucius and the sages of old, they would never have been allowed to abdicate." From words like these it is easy to see how such a roused moral consciousness as we have been noting rises clearly into the spiritual realm.

From what has been said it must not be concluded that the revolution was a great white crusade. There were plenty of rascals who simply went on following their own fortunes with the new turn of the tide, and there was a great deal of blind and foolish enthusiasm that the country had found the panacea for all its woes and weaknesses; but despite this we must not fail to note that the great moral motive firing the energies of most of the leaders and the best spirits was fundamentally sound and high, much more so than the commercial, land hungry diplomacy of the representatives of the powers encamped in Peking.

3. A third moral and spiritual element for us to note was a new, almost intoxicating *selfconsciousness* among the Chinese people. This is in marked contrast with the inchoate spirit of old China. That led us to regard the nation as a mere congeries of land grubbing people. Just as the new Chinaman has come to a higher and clearer sense of personality than he has before known, so the whole country in its liveliest stratum of society showed that it had come to a higher plane of national consciousness. The very fact that the revolution aimed simply at getting rid of the dynasty and not at setting up some great hero or deliverer on the throne is witness of this. China aimed to set herself in the chair of sovereignty, and that so large and able and representative a proportion of the people could and did respond to the ideal has startled the world.

A new sense of unity then is one of the first things that



rivet our attention in this element of self-consciousness. Of course plenty of provincial jealousies and section differences were brought into play but the fact that eventually they were successfully subordinated to the common ideal is the outstanding fact. Among the first pronouncements of the new government was one that a foremost aim should be the consolidation of the five races of which the inhabitants of this tremendous land with some reason have regarded themselves composed, making of the Hans, the Manchus, the Mongolians, the Mohammedans, and the Tibetans one great homogeneous nation. They proclaimed the fact to the world in the stripes of their new flag. Even the vanquished Manchus were included without resentment in the new democratic ideal.

In the early weeks of the revolution, the break-up of the country into small provincial republics seemed like a contradiction of this spirit of unity. That view was due less to local ambitions, than to the misunderstandings by the outsiders of the real program of the revolutionaries which was not to sweep the country with fire and sword, but only to seize those positions of government and armed force which it was necessary for them to hold until such times as the success of the movement made the consolidation of the whole swift and sure.

It is interesting to note that this new spirit of unity has none of the old exclusiveness or anti-foreign feeling in it. Indeed that element, heretofore thought undeniably characteristic of the Chinese is maintained to be wholly an accretion of Manchu misrule. Dr. Sun says in a recent article called "My Reminiscences:" "People in Europe think that the Chinese wish to keep themselves apart from foreign nations, and that the Chinese ports could be opened only at the point of the bayonet. That is all wrong. History furnishes us with many proofs that, before the arrival of the Manchus, the Chinese were in close relations with the neighboring countries, and that they showed no dislike toward foreign traders and missionaries. Foreign merchants were allowed to travel freely through the Empire. During the Ming dynasty there was no anti-foreign spirit."



The *Republican Advocate* one of the journals of the new day says in its first issue: "The spirit which China has shown in her great struggle for political liberty has been appreciated by the West, and the friendly attitude of the western nations towards China has been equally appreciated. Our mission therefore is clear. Our policy is *not antagonism but coöperation*. China desires to be a free independent nation not in the old sense of isolation and exclusion, but in the more rational sense of unobstructed individual development on the basis of coöperation and reciprocity; and if we succeed in attaining this objective we shall have realized our cherished ambition."

The world is still wondering that so soon after the cataclysm of 1900, so great and portentous a struggle as this revolution could be carried through by the same people with hardly any hurt of foreign life or property. If with the queue and the kowtow the Chinese can shake off the Manchu bred dislike of the foreigner, and forget the foreigner's abominable ill treatment of more than a century, he is showing us moral stamina of no mean order.

Another element in this new self consciousness of the nation has been its rousing spirit of patriotism. That peculiar attachment of the heart for one's native land as superlatively his own unexpectedly flowered forth in wide profusion. "Give us mountains and rivers" was a slogan constantly used against the hated Manchus and their corrupting grip on the whole inmost life of the land. The patience, persistence, and undaunted faith of the revolutionaries baffled in seventeen unsuccessful attempts to launch their program, but for fifteen years holding steadily and cannily to their course, and motivated as the event has proved with much less of self-interest than similar upturnings in the world's history reveal, have shown a quality of patriotism in the Chinese of which the West little dreamed. Dr. Sun tells of a nameless Chinese laundryman who one evening after the great revolutionist had been addressing his fellow countrymen in Philadelphia, "called at my hotel, and thrusting a linen bag upon me went away without a word. It contained his entire savings for twenty years." As I

came away from China last December and touched at the various ports of the southeast coast, I found scores of well-to-do Chinese flocking back from the Straits Settlements, Saigon, Rangoon, Java, and the Philippines with their entire fortunes turned into available cash, ready to throw it and themselves into the struggle. Some of course were hotheads, some were chagrined to find the seats of the mighty already occupied, but the spirit of genuine patriotism which as a class they manifested made those of us in the south know that the end of the Manchu south of the Yangtse had already come.

Something like the spirit of the crusades seemed to get hold of the students of government and mission institutions alike. Volunteer regiments were largely recruited from them and faster than they could be supplied with arms and equipment. President Edmunds showed us at breakfast this morning a photo print of a group of Canton Christian College students who in two weeks time raised \$55,000, for relief of the government in its dire financial straits. School girls eluded their teachers and ran away to join uniformed Red Cross corps. The splendid heroism of some of the raw troops, who scarcely knew which was the firing end of their rifles, before the thoroughly drilled imperialists with their 1911 German machine guns at Hankow is one of the most stirring things in war story. It is said that some battalions whose arms had not yet arrived actually went out upon the shell swept field as they were, so determined were they to die for their country. Never again will the West accuse the Chinaman of lack of patriotism. He has always had it, I think, but expressed in terms which we could not understand. Now it has been translated into our own speech.

Another element in this new self consciousness of the Chinese is an aroused imagination. No one but a westerner who has come to know how the thought of a Chinese seems inexorably to flow in the mold made for it by the centuries, can feel what a tremendous moral asset is here. Many things have been contributing to it. I will mention only one, the use of English. English is the commercial and diplomatic

language of the Far East, and, as a remarkable edict some two years ago informed the startled world, the language of all higher education and research work for China. It would be interesting to follow up this line of thought. Enough here to remark that everyone engaged in school work in China will testify to the wonderful awakening effect that even a smattering of English seems to have on the mind of a Chinese boy or girl. A fine Chinese scholar, a Christian, who had received a thorough western education abroad, was asked by a missionary friend did he enjoy reading his bible the more in English or in his own language. His instant reply was "My English Bible." "Why?" "Because it is more spiritual," was the answer.

A striking instance of this aroused imagination among the Chinese people is found in that picturesque scene at the old Ming tombs near Nanking. There on the 18th of February, the New Year's Day of the old calendar, with his minister of war, General Huang Hsin, and the governor-general of the province, Dr. Sun escorted by a brilliant military parade made his way to the dilapidated mausoleum temple of old Emperor Hung Wu under the shadow of the Purple Mountain. To the spirits of the Ming dynasty—Emperor Hung Wu's remains had been lying in 500 years of neglect—he solemnly announced the end of the usurping dynasty and the restoration of the rights of the people to the nation. Then he turned and in an address of characteristic modesty and frankness he told the multitude his reasons for laying down the presidency of the provisional republic. Here were the choicest, the leading spirits of the Revolution, linking up the best that was to be found in the traditions of the past with their ideals and ambitions for the future. It means much for a people when the power of an aroused creative imagination can do that. The boom of the saluting guns at the close taken up in succession down the long avenue of approach and away into the distant city seemed to be a promise that the applause and devotion of his auditors for these ideals should extend out into the life of all the people. The occasion had something of the character of a sacrament

in it, but Dr. Sun, fearing that his Christian friends might be disquieted, hastened to assure them that it had no religious significance whatever.

This power of the creative imagination in New China seems also to have impressed the outside nations of the world. George Bronson Rea in his illuminating article on the revolution in the April issue of the *Far Eastern Review* tells us how in the thickest of the fight and during the greatest of the uncertainty, especially in Peking, the example of China as a republic was felt would be tremendous throughout the East. "It was urged that if China had reached the stage where it could take its place among the great republics of the world, and her millions of ignorant, benighted people were competent to assume the duties and burdens of a great republic, then Great Britain's policy in India was doomed to failure. The establishment and recognition of a Chinese Republic would increase the unrest in India, and the demand of the natives for a larger share in their own government would sooner or later break out into open revolt, and Britain would pay in India the price in blood and treasure for her vacillating policy in China. And by the same logic America would be called to modify her policy in the Philippines. "Of course all such generalizations overlook the essential differences in the types of civilizations and national characteristics involved, but it is certain that the events of the past twelve months in China have made every ruling house of Europe more thoughtful as to their own positions and duties.

4. I hasten to a fourth and last moral and spiritual element in the situation closely allied to this aroused self-consciousness of which we have been thinking,—namely self-control. This in some aspects is an immemorial characteristic of the race but during the Revolution it found new and appealing expression. Dr. Fong F. Sec, writing in the *Mission Year Book* of 1912 says: "The self-control shown was superb, and contrasted strangely with the behavior of the allied troops in 1900—looting, ravaging, and shooting down of non-combatants. This has raised China in the estimation of the world and has raised the self-respect of the Chinese

people." Despite the yellow journalism of America everyone now knows that this is true. Practically the only excesses were committed by the imperial troops in the taking of Hankow, and by the revolted bands of northern soldiery later on. It was an entirely new experience to astonished Chinese farmer folk to find that a great brigade of revolutionary soldiers could pass through their towns and by their fields and leave them practically as before. I live in an inland prefectural city where wide spaces and crumbling ruins both within and without the city walls are yet eloquent of the ferocity of the Tai Pings who swept off two-thirds of the innocent population of that region in the fifties. It is no wonder that the ill-informed people of that city remembering the horrors of that earlier rebellion, before it was clear whether there was to be a battle with the Keh Ming Dangs (revolutionaries) for the possession of the city or not, removed nine out of ten of all their women folks to quieter places among the mountains and country villages. But it was a needless fear. Their only foes were their own neighbors who might take such an occasion to pay off old grudges, Chinese fashion.

History I think does not show a parallel when so tremendous an overturn took place with so brief and bloodless a contest. In all the battles of the revolution put together fewer men lost their lives than in any one battle of our great civil war. The revolutionaries were not after the blood of their enemies but after political control of the country. The post and telegraph service all through the south was left in undisturbed imperial administration long after complete military control had been established. In Foochow it did not seem to occur to the new authorities even to tinker with the names until more than a month after the two days' battle which put them in command. In many cases, as at Canton, the revolutionary leaders after recruiting their forces and amassing their supplies, had only to take deputies of the incredulous and astounded officials on a tour of inspection, to persuade those officials to sign over the surrender papers, pack their trunks hastily and depart. It was their reliance on pacific methods that led the southern

forces at Wuchang and Hankow even when flushed with victory of arms to make the sorry strategic blunder of not severing the railroad connection from Peking. They could not conceive that those northern armies would actually fight their own brothers for the support of the detested Manchus.

This quality of self control not rarely rose into real magnanimity. The banner men of the Tartar city in Foochow after the brief unequal struggle, and their disarmament and registration, actually had their old pensions paid to them out of the precarious income of their victors, until such time as they might be able to become self-supporting at trades and handicrafts. Contrast that with the extermination traditionally meted out to the vanquished in Chinese history. In the final adjustment with the abdicated throne, generous pensions were apportioned to all members of the ruling house, and the baby emperor was even allowed to retain his title. The greatest single instance of this magnanimity of spirit, one that will forever shine in the pages of modern history was of course the resignation of his high office by Sun Wen (the name by which Dr. Sun Yat Sen is known in China) when at the height of his popularity and successful endeavors, that the breach with the north might be healed and his loved country give itself without delay to the tremendous problems of reconstruction that faced it. His conduct during all these months since that notable event, when by becoming less he became truly great, his remarkable success in allaying suspicion and creating enthusiasm by his visit to Yuan Shi Kai at Peking during a period of momentous uncertainty, all his counsel to the people, all his leadership show him a man qualified to live up to a lasting world reputation.

Turning now briefly to the other part of our subject what shall be said regarding these moral and spiritual elements in the outlook for the future?

1. First it is certain that the spread of enlightenment is to go on apace. All the railway, telegraph, and wireless communication schemes that are being strenuously pushed mean the linking up of the country into a great whole so that all

shall know what concerns the welfare of any section. Newspapers and books in increasing numbers are having a wider and more eager public than ever before. It is a tremendous task that the country has undertaken, for only one in four hundred of her population is going to school at present; but the state and the provinces are giving themselves resolutely to the enterprise as of foremost importance. Here in education, in which missions now hold the lead, is the most strategic, most vital opportunity that the church has faced since the year 1. I hope that the addresses on education will not fail forcefully to impress this fact upon us. I could wish that that great mother of the churches, the oldest and most efficiently organized of them all, the Roman Catholic Church would enter this field more widely and practically than she has. She would find it much more rewarding than the political maneuvering that frequently mars and obstructs her spiritual advance.

2. Of the distinctively moral elements in the present outlook it is more difficult to speak incisively. Of course it is a different thing to rouse moral enthusiasm against the faults of others than patiently take one's self in hand; and the republicans are finding that the Ethiopian does not change his skin nor the leopard his spots. It is all a question whether there are honest, selfsacrificing, efficient men in sufficient numbers to carry the day. I believe that there are. They are to be found from top to bottom of the new régime, and they are not unaware of what faces them. Premier Lu, who speaks both English and French fluently is described in a recent letter from Peking as "returning with the fixed determination to sacrifice himself for his country." The assembly man who represents my prefecture in the Fukien provincial assembly, a Christian and a scholar, is fighting with likeminded spirits to give real effectiveness to the early assurance of the new government of absolute religious liberty; for in Fukien it is proposed to disqualify for the franchise all heads of religious orders, in the hot-headed enthusiasm to have done with all the superstitions and benightedness of Taoism and Buddhism. Think of untried Chinese Christian statesmen having to fight their



battles for the Buddhist priest and the Taoist geomancer.

Young China is beginning to query about the moral issues of life both in himself and in society at large; the why's and the whither's begin to present themselves to him for the first time. Rev. G. A. Bunbury in south China tells of opportunities "to speak to students who are beginning to reflect on the cause of moral evil and to find the ethical theory of the Chinese classics unsatisfactory because inadequate." Here lies another great challenge to the Christian Church to take hold of its supreme task in China with redoubled energy.

On the whole and in the large China seems to be facing its future with fine moral enthusiasm. One of the first official acts of President Yuan Shi Kai was to appoint Shao Ying special commissioner to give his full time to the opium reform aiming to complete that reform in a year's time. The board of the interior gave official support to the program in a bulletin of March 20.

But when we turn to view the moral temper with which the powers are meeting China there is no cause for congratulation. Take this instance for example. On September 16 last, a consignment of seven chests of opium valued at 20,000 taels, the property of a Chinese purchaser who had paid full customs charges at Shanghai for it, transported to Anking, not a treaty port, in a vessel of the China merchants service, and stored in a Chinese-owned hulk, was seized by the order of the provincial Tutuh (governor) and publicly burned by the police. Here was a matter that from beginning to end was certainly wholly the affair of the Chinese both as to the legality of the seizure and of any claims for damages. Yet Great Britain in the person of its senior consul-general Sir Everard Fraser must needs proceed in an armed British gunboat, overriding the proper channels for such inquiry through Peking, to that same non-treaty port and demand an explanation of the Tutuh, the outcome of which is yet to be known. It looks as if some British were determined to put the "foreign dirt" into the very pipes of the Chinese and watch them while they smoked it. The transaction reminds

me of the action of the British consul in Foochow in 1911, who under pressure of the wholesalers who found their stock accumulating with no Chinese retail buyers because of the stringency of the administration of the reform measures, wrote as follows to the head of the bureau of foreign affairs—"I have to request your excellency kindly send telegraphic instruction to all local authorities that they issue an explicit proclamation for the general information of the public with a view to promoting the sale of this drug."

The *National Review* published in Shanghai says of this last Anking affair in a leader entitled "A New Opium War:" "We can imagine no act short of actual war more unfriendly to the Chinese government than this, which is so malign in its effect that it might almost have been calculated deliberately with a view to initiating an insidious attempt to wreck the Republic. Such a result would highly delight Great Britain's ally, but would it in the least degree benefit Great Britain?"

One is tempted to agree with an American banker's view of the situation. Mr. Warner M. Van Norden of New York, is reported in a recent interview, speaking of the foreign forces at work in China and rating them in order of efficiency of organization, to put first, "a small but brainy coterie of Britishers who with the aid of certain British government representatives are working to nullify the popular anti-opium movement, and firmly to establish again their nefarious traffic. In point of ability displayed in their tactics, and in the money involved in the outcome, no project in China is worthy to be compared with it."

Put with this front of the West toward China in one of its greatest moral struggles, the dollar diplomacy of the powers which for so many months has obscured and obstructed the course of real statesmanship, and we have very little of which to be proud in the moral clothes that we seem to be wearing in the eyes of New China. The *National Review* rejoicing in the break of the grip of the sextuple syndicate by the successful loan negotiated through the International Financial Syndicate says; "The whole conduct of this fight has demonstrated that what the six powers desire in this

country is not an open door, or an equal opportunity for all, but a door closed to all but their favorites, and no opportunity whatever for anybody else."

3. Turning again to the more hopeful Chinese aspect of the outlook we find the element of self consciousness or developing nationality presenting many grounds for cheer. One sees it especially in the enthusiasm and independence of the Protestant Christian Church, its sense of responsibility for the future of its own country. A growing spirit of unity also is most easily discernible here. Another half hour could be profitably spent on this inspiring theme. It is another side of the marvelous challenge which China is presenting to Christian Missions today.

Patriotism too, of a personal, selfdevoting sort is not to be sought even in times of peace in vain. General Chang Kuei-Ti was charged with disciplining the troops concerned in the mutinous outbreak at Tung Chow. Among those court-martialed and condemned to death was a young lieutenant, a so-called "grandson" of the general of whom the older man was very fond. The general himself signed the death warrant and then went into mourning for several days so that an unfounded rumor became rife that he had committed suicide. One who knows the grip of the family and the clan feeling in China cannot but wonder when he sees the sense of loyalty to one's country looming larger in a Chinese conscience.

4. Of self-control, the fourth element in our review, the Chinese are showing large measures as they grapple with the stupendous tasks before them. Of course some of it is close to the oriental feeling of fatalism. "We must eat three meals a day. What's the difference?" But to New China it does make a difference; and if she can keep herself from becoming heady and bombastic she will do well and keep the sympathy of all her friends. The leaders certainly have not shown any of these distinctively student tendencies. Their spirit is reflected in the words of a high official to a representative of a London journal recently. "China does not ask Europe for mercy; she asks for justice and a little patience. . . . We are in a little disarray it is true,

because the principle of authority is being restated in a new and strange language. We only ask what Europe cannot gainsay, namely time to set our house in order. Remember we have many mansions and there is much to do."

A last element in this selfcontrol or poise of the present day Chinese is something that he shares with the Chinese of all ages—his faith in "Li." "Li" is the conforming of one's individual conduct, or the ordering of social action in accord with the great moral laws of the universe. With the most ordinary coolie or boatman you can "kiang li," that is, "talk li," get at the reasonable moral conformity of any particular act or event. To the inmost rational moral nature of the universe; the highest affairs of state are administered with the same moral faith. The oughtness of things is with the Confucian an articulate living reality. That is why the present leaders and statesmen of China, although they know that the western governments do not pretend in international affairs to live up to their own highest ethical standards, and though they know they are faced by a dubious future, seem unperturbed. They feel that their own conduct of affairs, their programs and ambitions, have "li." The ultimate outcome is assured, "the stars in their courses" are fighting on their side. Their concern is only to make sure that they do not transgress "li." It is a moral faith that is unmatched in the non-Christian world.

From these glimpses of the splendid moral stamina in the Chinese people are we surprised to find that not a few of the old Confucians who have thrown in their fortunes energetically with the new day, intelligent, keen eyed men, with a knowledge of the world of affairs, regard the present as a mere episode in their nation's history. They still hold the westerners as their ethical inferiors—moral barbarians. For a time they will give themselves to learning western military science, western industry, western political science, modern science and modern education; and having made herself secure through these, by which the west has gained its mastery, China will resume its throne among the nations of the world, and rule not only its own affairs but in the affairs of the nations according to the supreme moral laws

of the universe. It is for us, peoples of a more advanced civilization and a more fundamental religious faith, to show them that the ethical bases for such a society and such a position in the brotherhood of nations must rest on deeper foundations than any in Confucius' noble system, and bring them to discover for themselves the one foundation that has been laid, Jesus Christ, the Righteous.